

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
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 Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	13	9/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: Bruce RE: Note on article about Nixon modeling campaign organization after his successful 1968 version. Article is attached. 10 pgs.
19	13		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From: Robert C. Odle, Jr. To: H.R. Haldeman and Larry Higby RE: Questions and answers for a campaign article for the National Journal. Includes back-and-forth memos and letters regarding the article. 11 pgs.
19	13		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	An article about the 1972 Senate Elections by Kevin Phillips titled, "The Phillips Survey." 4 pgs.
19	13	9/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Clifford A. Miller To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Letter addressed to Playboy Magazine from John R. Liebman providing evidence of the "distorted and inconsistent views" of George McGovern. Letter is attached. 3 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	13	3/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: H.R. Haldeman To: John N. Mitchell and The Attorney General RE: Lee Nung's resignation. 1 pg.
19	13	2/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Charles W. Colson To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Lee Nung. 1 pg.
19	13	3/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: H.R. Haldeman To: John N. Mitchell and the Attorney General RE: The Indiana Situation. Attached is another memo referring to a letter about the problems in Indiana and also the letter itself. 3 pgs.
19	13	2/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Harry S. Dent To: The Attorney General RE: The Wallace Situation. 2 pgs.

GS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

File

Date: 9/13

TO: Bruce

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You will  
enjoy this article  
as much as L.  
and H did

Thanks - I did"  
B

# Political Report/Nixon models campaign organization after his successful version of 1968

by Dom Bonafede

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NATIONAL  
JOURNAL  
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Late Saturday, Aug. 14, the second night of the now-historic economic strategy session at Camp David, the participants were preparing for bed in their separate cabins. It had been a long, wearying day; the economic planners had divided themselves into units to focus on particular parts of the plan. Afterward, they had dinner together at Laurel Lodge. (Mr. Nixon, as was his custom throughout the weekend, ate alone in his quarters at Aspen Lodge.) Then, unexpectedly, the President summoned John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President for domestic affairs; H. R. Haldeman, assistant to the President and White House major-domo; and Caspar W. Weinberger, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Recalling the incident, Ehrlichman said:

"We had been well into the meetings. The President had spent the day with the various committees. . . . That night, Haldeman, Weinberger and I got phone calls from the President to come to his house to talk politics."

Ehrlichman and Haldeman were key aides in Mr. Nixon's 1968 campaign and, as members of the White House inner circle, are privy to his political plans. Weinberger was included because of his political background as chairman of the California State Republican Committee from 1962 to 1964.

Quickly assembled, the group discussed the political implications of the new economic policy.

"We were convinced it would be feasible and desirable," Ehrlichman remarked.

**Machine assembled:** This episode, amid intense preoccupation with the revised economic game plan, illustrates the White House's increasing concern with political matters. With the national political conventions less than a year away, the Nixon forces are assembling their campaign machine.

Although the President has yet to announce that he will seek reelection, his aides and advocates are certain that he will—barring some calamitous development.

"We're going on the assumption that the President is going to run; I can't imagine that he won't," said a spokesman for the Republican National Committee. "Our primary purpose here is to reelect Dick Nixon. . . . At this moment, we are directly involved in a campaign."

Sen. Robert Dole, of Kansas, chair-

man of the national committee, has told associates, "If he doesn't run, we have a lot of campaign stuff to throw away."

Murray Chotiner, long-time political associate of Mr. Nixon and a former special counsel at the White House (1970-71), now practicing law in Washington, said:

"There's no question he will run. It's not even discussed whether he will run; it's just accepted. It's like looking out the window and seeing it is daytime; it is simply a fact."

At this stage of the campaign,

and urban-rural affairs; the switch of New York Mayor John V. Lindsay from Republican to Democrat adds a new and uncertain element to the campaign; and, finally, third and even fourth party candidates may enter the race.

Each of these factors, in varying degrees, will affect the organization, strategy and maneuverings of the candidates, and the election itself.

## The White House

The three focal points in the Administration's reelection blueprint are



John N. Mitchell



Harry S. Dent



John D. Ehrlichman

White House aides and Republican Party officials generally believe:

- that Attorney General John N. Mitchell will leave the Justice Department around the first of the year and take over as campaign manager for Mr. Nixon—the same position he held in the 1968 campaign;
- that the President will run on a theme of peace and prosperity;
- that the President's new China initiative and his economic policy go a long way toward anticipating the two major issues;
- that President Nixon's campaign organization and election strategy will be similar to those of 1968, with some significant changes.

Providing a backdrop for the campaign activity is a national political scene which in several respects is vastly different from four years ago.

Democratic Party aspirants spanning the ideological spectrum want to challenge Mr. Nixon; an estimated 25 million voters will be eligible to participate in their first Presidential election, more than 11 million of them between the ages of 18 and 21; the dominant issues, the war and the economy, overshadow all others, including race, crime, ecology, poverty

the Republican National Committee, the Committee for the Reelection of the President and the White House.

The White House is operating as if it were not actively engaged in politicking.

Following the 1970 midterm elections, which proved disappointing to the Republicans, Mr. Nixon decided to remove overt political activity from the White House.

A highly placed Presidential assistant said, "It goes to the credibility of what you are trying to do. . . . If the White House becomes a branch of the Republican National Committee, you impeach your bona fide efforts to get results by putting undue emphasis on the purely political side."

**Deemphasis:** The White House took several steps after the 1970 elections to disassociate itself from the business of politics.

Chotiner left the staff in March 1971. Harry S. Dent, who shared White House political chores with Chotiner, was scheduled to follow him out; but Dent remained when it was decided that the White House needed him to maintain political liaison with outside groups. Dent's office was transferred from the White House East

## Strategy: Similar to 1968

The current mood and the judgment of Nixon Administration officials point to a campaign strategy in 1972 similar to that which brought them victory in 1968.

**Areas of concentration:** Essentially, the strategy calls for a holding operation in the 32 states which went to Mr. Nixon, particularly the South, the Border states, the Middle West and the West; a recognition that several of the big Northeast industrial states are almost beyond Mr. Nixon's reach; a reestablishment of credentials in the five Deep South states that went to George C. Wallace in 1968; a vigorous campaign in California and Texas; and an effort to counteract the erosion of Mr. Nixon's support among farmers, blue-collar workers, ethnic groups and businessmen.

Administration officials persist in denying that they have a Southern strategy. They discount—perhaps too easily—Wallace's return to prominence nationwide (as a result of controversy over school busing) and his chances of sustaining a campaign that will hurt Mr. Nixon in the Deep South.

"The boom will be off by campaign time," said an official of the Republican National Committee.

Wallace, who is serving his second term as Governor of Alabama, has not said conclusively whether he will be a Presidential candidate again.

Even if Wallace should stay out of the race, the Republicans are aware that the Deep South states would not fall to them by default.

According to a survey by the Ripon Society, the majority of 1968 Wallace voters shifted to the Democrats in 1970. Also, the huge increase in black voter registration in the states of the Confederacy could work against Mr. Nixon.

Consequently, Mr. Nixon is expected to make a vigorous effort in the region.

**Primaries:** The Nixon forces are studying strategy and techniques for the primaries.

In states where it is required by law, Mr. Nixon's name will appear on the ballot; in some other states, favorite-son candidates will stand in for him—Sen. Robert Taft Jr. in Ohio, for example.

How active the President will be in the primaries is still undetermined. "I don't think he should have to campaign in the primaries," said one RNC official.

Murray Chotiner, the veteran campaign technician who has participated in most of Mr. Nixon's election contests, said that it would be "farfetched" to say that the President will campaign actively in the primaries.

"Against whom?" he said. "The Republicans will renominate the President without a semblance of opposition."

through him," said Dent, looking ahead to the campaign.

A recent example of Mitchell's political status was cited by Francis L. Dale, publisher of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and co-founder and chairman of the Committee for the Reelection of the President:

"In late March (1971), I mentioned it (the plan for the committee) to John Mitchell while I was in Washington. I told him we were not asking him for a yes or a no, but what we are going to do 'unless you tell me not to; unless you have any objections we are going to put together an office and hire some guys from the White House.'"

Dale gave the impression that one word from Mitchell could have vetoed

the project. The Attorney General indicated, however, that he had no objection.

**Nixon:** In another move to separate politics from the Presidency, Mr. Nixon said at a press conference on June 1 that he would not comment on political questions.

This, according to his political aides, is in line with the image Mr. Nixon will seek to project in 1972—world statesman and activist President, less a political partisan and more one who stands above the skirmishing for votes and is the leader of all Americans.

"When a man is President you have an entirely different situation," said Chotiner. "He is President to all the people. His appeal should be to all

Wing to the less prestigious Old Executive Office Building next door.

Nonetheless, Dent's presence is becoming more prominent as the campaign pace picks up. He is the White House contact with the reelection committee, is in frequent communication with the RNC and continues to be the Administration's emissary to the Deep South.

Dent deals with GOP state chairmen and sets up meetings with party leaders when the President is on tour. He makes recommendations regarding invitations to White House functions, appointments to Presidential boards and commissions and requests for visits with Mr. Nixon.

On substantive political matters, Dent confers directly with Attorney General Mitchell.

Indicative of White House confidence—and of Dent's standing—is the fact that Dent recently moved his family to Washington from Columbia, S.C., where they had remained although Dent joined the Administration in 1969.

**Mitchell:** Several White House aides and RNC officials interviewed by *National Journal* unanimously agreed that Mitchell would serve again as Mr. Nixon's campaign manager.

"The one man he (Mr. Nixon) has complete confidence in is the Attorney General," said a Presidential assistant. "The President will play the role of the candidate; he's not going to be the field general—that will be John Mitchell." Another referred to the Attorney General as the White House's "political maharajah."

Mitchell had planned tentatively to take over the campaign this fall. But pressing matters at the Justice Department, including legal furor over the Pentagon Papers and over the school busing issue, held up the move.

Also, there is little need for the campaign to begin early since Mr. Nixon is assured of his party's nomination and has the advantages of incumbency, including constant public exposure and an experienced campaign team.

Mitchell clearly directs the tripartite political apparatus. Publicly, he refrains from participating in the political process, and he has no title to indicate his role. But, within party councils and organizations, he is the acknowledged political chieftain—second to, and accountable only to, Mr. Nixon.

"Everything will be channeled

## Reelecting the President:

If a stranger chanced to wander into a suite of offices on the second floor of a bank building a block down and across the street from the White House, he would surely recognize that he was in a special place dedicated solely to the service of Richard M. Nixon.

The walls are hung liberally with pictures of the President, some in color, others in black and white. Mr. Nixon is shown in various ceremonial poses, at his inauguration, with Gen. Eisenhower and the late Sen. (1951-69) Everett M. Dirksen, R-Ill.; with his wife and his two daughters; in candid scenes with his staff, and in formal poses with foreign chiefs of state.

Like the Nixon White House, the office has a quiet air of efficiency and a businesslike tone.

The office belongs to the Committee for the Reelection of the President. With the White House and the Republican National Committee, it is part of the political trinity devoted to securing a second term for Mr. Nixon.

**Genesis:** One of the committee's originators, Francis L. Dale, president of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and president of the Cincinnati Reds baseball team, said that the idea started at a business meeting in New York City on Feb. 24, 1971.

Dale's newspaper had supported Mr. Nixon early in the campaign for the 1968 Republican Presidential nomination. Dale later headed Mr. Nixon's Ohio campaign.

"It was not a political meeting," Dale recalled. "But present were a number of fellows who had worked in previous Republican campaigns. We talked about the coming election; and, knowing the President's great sensitivity about using the White House as a political base, some of us felt he was like a sitting duck, with the campaign coming up and no one doing anything specific for him. I was sort of asked to do it."

Dale said that he later checked out the plan with Attorney General John N. Mitchell but did not talk to the President. "We're not that close," he said.

Harry S. Flemming, a former assistant to the President for per-

sonnel and son of former HEW Secretary (1958-61) Arthur S. Flemming, was recruited to pull together a committee staff.

The younger Flemming had resigned from the White House staff in February to return to publishing a newspaper in Virginia.

Within three months of the New York meeting, the committee staff was established in a modern suite of offices at 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., directly across the street from the site of the small, antiquated shop (since torn down) where the first "Nixon for President" headquarters was located in Washington in 1968.

An official committee of prominent Republicans and faithful campaign contributors was appointed, with Dale as chairman.

Formation of the committee outside the regular party apparatus and at least nominally separate from the White House grew out of self-imposed liabilities in those two organizations.

Mr. Nixon had handed down an order that the campaign be run outside the White House to avoid the appearance of partisan politics in the Presidency.

And the RNC, geared to a wide range of party functions, is inhibited from formally carrying out certain campaign tasks until a candidate is nominated. The Republican Finance Committee also must refrain from fund raising specifically for the President at this point in the campaign.

The new committee, by contrast, did not have these restraints. It could concentrate exclusively on putting into motion all the activities necessary for a Presidential reelection campaign—from conducting research to raising money.

The committee is setting up a skeleton organization to get the campaign under way until the national campaign committee can go into action, probably around the first of the year.

**Misunderstandings:** Dale said in early May, when the committee was announced, that its members would be "strictly volunteers." Its original name was Citizens Committee for the Reelection of the President.

As a result, many people believed the committee was a grassroots organization. Others thought it was a 1972 version of the 1968 "Nixon for President" group.

The committee's private and selective operation and its aloofness toward the news media also have contributed to an indistinct image and a lack of understanding of its purpose.

The committee's originators say they did not intend to create these misunderstandings.

A spokesman said that the committee "has not attempted to get a message across to the media" because it is in the early planning stages of the campaign.

"The campaign committee has never operated under a cloak of secrecy," he said. "It is listed in telephone information, its name is on the door, and it is listed on the directory of the building in which it is housed."

"It simply is not at the stage where it is actively seeking publicity."

**White House link:** Although technically a private, outside organization, the committee has a close connection with the White House.

Five committee staff executives are former Presidential aides, all of whom formally resigned from the White House: Flemming, who handles the committee's political work; Jeb S. Magruder, former deputy director of communications for the executive branch, in charge of the committee's day-to-day activities; and Robert C. Odle Jr., Herbert L. Porter and Hugh W. Sloan Jr., former staff assistants to the President who administer segments of the committee's work.

The staff now has 19 members, including nine secretaries, a few of whom have worked at the White House.

Although members of the committee's top command do not advertise it, they consult often with White House aides and RNC officials.

The committee spokesman acknowledged that the group does "work very closely" with the RNC and with White House personnel.

"One of the reasons the com-

## A New Committee at Work

mittee was set up was so that campaign activities would be outside the White House and the government," he said.

Among those whose counsel is sought, he said, are Attorney General Mitchell, Presidential Counselors Robert H. Finch and Donald Rumsfeld, and White House political aide Harry S. Dent, "as well as others who were active in the 1968 campaign."

The committee spokesman said that neither Dale nor any member of the committee staff "has communicated with the President in any way concerning it, nor has the President communicated with any of the staff members." He said Dale informed the President of the formation of the committee "through White House officials."

**RNC relationship:** "We're in the same business—to reelect the President," said Lyn Nofziger, RNC deputy chairman for communications. "If they need help or research, we make our facilities available."

The committee often contacts Nofziger; Thomas B. Evans Jr., the RNC cochairman; and Ed S. DeBolt, director of RNC's Research Division.

Defining the difference between the RNC and his group, the committee spokesman said:

"The job of the Republican National Committee basically is to maintain and build Republican organizations throughout the country and elect Republican Governors, Senators and Congressmen in 1972, as well as to play a major role in reelecting the President. Our interest is exclusively the Presidential campaign and the plans which have to be made at this stage for it."

**Committee functions:** He said the committee's objective "is not yet to campaign for the President's reelection, but to study the manner in which that campaign should be waged. . . . We are in the stage where the methods of campaign organization and structure are being examined."

**Planning studies**—The committee has arranged a group of "planning studies" on all aspects of a national campaign.

"Theoretically, every facet of a national Presidential campaign would be covered by one of the various planning studies," the committee source said.

Areas to be covered include organization of working groups "in those states which choose their delegates to the national convention first, and also in states with large numbers of electoral votes"; campaign techniques to attract "the so-called voting blocs"; strategy planning for the Republican national convention; research, and fund raising.

Another of the planning studies is concerned with techniques aimed at appealing to the almost 25 million young voters who will be eligible to vote in a Presidential election for the first time in 1972.

**Youth affairs**—In charge of the youth affairs study is Kenneth Rietz, a member of the political consultant firm of Allison, Treleaven and Rietz, which has had close ties with the Nixon Administration. (Jimmy Allison is a former RNC deputy chairman, and Harry Treleaven Jr. was a media specialist in the 1968 Nixon campaign.)

One of the proposals under consideration is the formation of regional "Youth for Nixon" groups under the direction of Republican Members of Congress and other GOP officials.

The Nixon Administration is particularly concerned with the youth vote, which, traditionally, has tended to favor Democrats. Furthermore, some anti-Nixon organizations are working to register young voters.

Members of the White House congressional liaison staff urged Mr. Nixon to veto the 1970 Voting Rights Act Amendments (84 Stat 314), which opened federal elections to 18-year-olds.

Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President, helped persuade Mr. Nixon to sign the bill. Congress later proposed and the states ratified a constitutional amendment (26th Amendment) opening all elections to 18-year-olds.

But the youth vote still scares some Republican strategists.

"It's a killer," said a White House aide. "We could lose California and 20 to 25 Republican Congressmen because of it."

**Fund raising:** The committee makes its requests for funds directly by mail.

How much the committee has collected thus far is a confidential matter.

In reply to an inquiry, the committee spokesman said, "The committee is involved in fund raising to the extent that it is self-sustaining."

Dale said, "I see the letters which go out under my name and go over the lists and may add a personal note if there is someone I know. But I don't pick up the phone and try to solicit campaign contributions. I'm not doing day-to-day work."

The committee spokesman reported monthly operating expenses "run several thousand dollars." He said that "since each month is radically different from the previous month, it is difficult to estimate what the average monthly expenditures are."

He said the committee is not yet soliciting the support of outside private groups but is expected to do so later.

**Other activities:** The committee also works closely with state and local Republican organizations and officials. Three members of the committee staff attended the RNC meeting at Denver in July and talked with "most" of the state chairmen and national committeemen and women there.

Under consideration is the creation of an in-house advertising agency.

Members of the reelection committee are: Rita Hauser, U.S. delegate to the United Nations; Max Fisher, Detroit business executive; Thomas W. Pappas, Boston businessman; Donald A. Scholander, former Olympic swimming champion and now a college administrator; Robert H. Volk, of Los Angeles, president and director of Unionamerica Inc.; Erik Jonsson, business leader and former mayor of Dallas; and Frank Borman, former astronaut and now an airline executive.

regardless of political affiliation."

Despite Mr. Nixon's nonpolitical stance, he has made several moves recently which reflect his awareness of the political priorities and the coming campaign.

He has addressed such constituent groups as the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Associated Milk Producers Inc., the Knights of Columbus and a joint conference of Retired Teachers and Retired Persons Associations.

Mr. Nixon also used the White House lawn as the site for a "salute to agriculture."

On May 25, he visited Birmingham, Ala., and, in an appeal reminiscent of 1968, expressed "nothing but utter contempt for the double hypocritical standard" of Northerners who point a finger of guilt at Southerners.

During August and early September, the President visited five of the nation's six top electoral-vote states excluding only Pennsylvania. During a two-week trip, he visited states with 170 electoral votes. (The total electoral vote is 538.)

### Campaign themes

Mr. Nixon has told his associates he would like to run on a platform of peace and prosperity—a longing supplemented by the July 15 announcement of his China trip and the Aug. 15 disclosure of the new economic policy.

**Peace, prosperity:** White House spokesmen refer to the President's visit to Peking as a "journey for peace." White House advisers also are convinced that the continual phaseout of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the retrenchment of American combat participation there have defused the war as the major political issue.

"Peace and prosperity are going issues for us now," Dent said. "A while ago you couldn't get far with them."

White House officials perceive the new economic policy as a political plus for the President and the Republican Party.

**Understanding**—It was Ehrlichman's opinion that the China breakthrough and the new economic proposals will result in "a more correct impression" of the President.

"We went through the first years with a lot of people saying the Administration was expedient, pragmatic, zig-zagging," Ehrlichman said. "These

## Choosing the Convention City

The selection of San Diego as the convention city could be advantageous to the Republican candidate in winning votes in California, which has 45 electoral votes—the most of any state.

According to one White House aide: "The selection of a traditional convention city has no effect on an election. However, if you take a non-convention city, like San Diego or Louisville, it can have an effect on the voting in that state."

**Background:** Meeting on July 22 and 23 in Denver, 158 members of the Republican National Committee picked San Diego as the site of the party's 1972 national convention. San Diego received 119 votes; Miami Beach, the site of Mr. Nixon's 1968 nomination, only 12 votes.

Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch, said at the time that it was the President's "wish" that the convention be staged in San Diego, about 50 miles from the Western White House at San Clemente and in "Nixon country."

The White House has maintained since then, however, that the President did not state a preference for San Diego and, indeed, left the choice to the RNC's site selection committee.

After the first round of bids early this year, San Diego was woefully in the rear. High-powered offers came from Chicago, San Francisco, Miami Beach and Houston. The White House reported back to the selection committee that the President needed more "options."

San Diego was asked to reevaluate its bid and make a second offer. At least two White House aides, both residents of California—Klein and Presidential Counselor Robert H. Finch—visited the city and discussed the convention competition with officials there. Louisville, St. Louis and Kansas City also were invited to get into the race for convention city.

As recounted by the White House aide:

"It finally narrowed down to Chicago, Miami Beach and San Diego. Chicago had political problems for us; we'd be at the mercy of Mayor Daley (Democratic Mayor Richard J. Daley). And then there were the Democratic demonstrations of 1968; they're like a red flag. It'd be a gamble for us to go there.

"Miami Beach was very attractive. We enjoyed it in 1968. But we'd be going in after the Democrats, and we felt that people might get sick and tired of it. Delegates like different cities for variety. Besides, they have no local Republicans there to support a convention."

Sen. Robert Dole, of Kansas, the RNC chairman, met with the President before the Denver meeting and reportedly was told that Mr. Nixon would be pleased with any of the three cities in contention.

Members of the RNC executive committee, however, were given to understand that the President would prefer San Diego.

**Rationale:** Asked why San Diego would be a good convention city for the Republicans, the White House aide said:

"It has a wealth of Republicans; it is close to the Western White House; the climate is superb; and it has a lot of attractions, like its world-famous zoo, its bay, fishing, a racetrack, Tijuana just across the border and Disneyland not too far away. . . . Also, we have Bob Wilson, the local Congressman there, and Gov. (Ronald) Reagan."

The fact that San Diego has never hosted a major political convention before is viewed as an asset.

"They want to make it work and put San Diego on the map," the aide said. "San Diego, you know, is now the second largest city in the West, bigger than San Francisco. It's been criticized as being too far away. But it's no farther for Easterners than Miami Beach is for Westerners.

"Housing facilities have also been criticized. The city and the hotel association have pledged 15,000 rooms, as opposed to 12,500 committed by Miami Beach. It's true there is a problem of hotel suites; we need about 1,000 but have only about 250 there. Politicians like suites for talking and working."

He conceded that many civic leaders and residents in San Diego are opposed to the political invasion and what it might do to the city.



two episodes will help people to understand the man, how he works and his approach."

He said the moves were "beginnings, good beginnings" towards preempting peace and prosperity as political issues.

In the sports vernacular popular with some Administration officials, Chotiner said, "Politically, they were two home runs. It doesn't mean the ball game. But when you start with two runs, it helps. . . . The opposition is scurrying around trying to figure out what to talk about."

"Our alternatives were to continue as we were, do less than what we did or do what we did," said Ehrlichman. "This was far and away the most politically palatable. The polls persuade me the unions' leadership do not reflect the opinion of the rank and file as to the plan's soundness and desirability."

**Reaction**—Early reaction to the over-all economic package indicates that it has given Mr. Nixon a political boost.

In a Gallup poll released Aug. 22, 68 per cent of those surveyed expressed mild to strong approval for the new policy; 11 per cent voiced mild to strong disapproval. Twelve per cent were undecided, and nine per cent were unaware of the program.

**Priorities foregone:** Slightly tempering enthusiasm at the White House over the President's foreign and domestic undertakings was the decision to defer revenue sharing for three months and welfare reform for six months.

The White House had labeled each of those programs top priority. Their deferment was partly responsible for criticism that the new economic policy favored big business as against the working man and the underprivileged.

**Unexpected reaction**—The action might have been avoided except for an unlikely occurrence. During discussion over the deferment at the Camp David meeting, Haldeman tried to get in touch with Clark MacGregor, counsel to the President and chief liaison between the White House and Congress, for his views on the legislative and political implications of the action. MacGregor, however, was on vacation in the remote north woods of Minnesota and was unreachable by phone.

"The deferments killed both programs, not just for this year but for many years," said one White House aide who was not at Camp David.

"Perhaps, that is what they meant to do since there was no reason I can see to mention them at all."

The White House aide said that Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and a prominent figure at Camp David, has looked upon the two items with disfavor.

**Rationale**—Explaining the reasons for delaying the programs, Ehrlichman said:

"We are talking only about effective dates here. There was no way, given the congressional posture, of getting general revenue sharing now. This was

Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Weinberger at Camp David the night of Aug. 14, Mr. Nixon mused at length over the need for a revitalization of national purpose and the dangers to the fabric of the American character brought on by apathy, lack of sacrifice and the erosion of Christian virtues.

He agonized particularly over the failure of some young people to care sufficiently about their own fate or the destiny of their country.

Shortly afterwards, during a speech at Springfield, Ill., Mr. Nixon laid aside his prepared remarks and re-



William E. Timmons



Murray Chotiner



Clark MacGregor

simply a reflection of the realities facing us. The programs do not depend on what we do now; if they did, people would have a right to assume we were abandoning them. But we're not; we're going to redouble our efforts.

"On welfare reform, six or seven weeks before Camp David, the President asked me to determine budgetary and other effects of a delay in welfare reform. He didn't tell me why, but just to get the information." Ehrlichman made inquiries at HEW as to the time involved in creating the governmental structure to administer the program.

"The week previous to Camp David it was evident to me that it was going to take about a year to create the apparatus to put it in motion. This includes offices, software, equipment, computerization of the program. Another of the reasons it would take so long is because we didn't know what the program would look like when it came out of Congress.

"When the President asked me about it, my response was that we not only can afford it, but we would have to delay it out of sheer physical necessity."

**Moral issue:** After talking politics with

peated the substance of what he had said that night at Camp David.

Aides personally close to the President say that these matters are frequently on his mind and that they expect him to turn to them more and more in the hope of providing moral leadership to the nation.

Conceivably, national morality—including the drug problem and environmental pollution—will replace law and order as a campaign issue.

"Law and order is no longer a vibrant issue," said Chotiner. "Everybody is for law and order. Even the Democrats came out for it in 1970. Can't have an issue if everybody is for it—except among lawbreakers."

An official at RNC concurred: "Crime is not a major issue at this time. It may be a problem, but not an issue.

"Dick Nixon has preempted the middle of the road beautifully. The war is winding down, the cities are quiet, civil rights is not a hot issue. Maybe the extremists did it for us."

**Leadership:** MacGregor sent a memorandum to Ehrlichman not long ago listing what he believed to be the prime issues for 1972. He listed the economy first and world peace second.

## Operating Arm of the Campaign: The RNC

The key states for a Nixon victory in 1972, according to a high-ranking official of the Republican National Committee, will be California, Texas, Ohio, Illinois, Florida and possibly Missouri.

"We have to win California and Texas," he said, "because, if you look at the surveys and are realistic, our chances are slim in New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Also, Michigan is doubtful."

The committee official said that while the Nixon forces certainly would make a run at those states, "we can get more for less elsewhere."

As the operational vehicle for the party, the RNC already is deeply involved in campaign maneuvering.

"Mr. Nixon will run on his record, and they (the Democrats) will run against him on his record," said Lyn Nofziger, RNC deputy chairman for communications.

A former political writer for the Copley newspapers and press secretary to California's Republican Gov. Ronald Reagan, Nofziger joined the RNC late last year to concentrate on the campaign. "A good dissemination and information operation could be an immense benefit to the President," he said.

**Publications:** The RNC is printing a number of brochures which spell out the Administration's position on major issues, such as revenue sharing, the draft, health care, agriculture and environment. One pamphlet shows the quizzical faces of three young people over the caption: "Is anyone listening? Does anyone give a damn?"

The committee also has revised the format of its weekly publication, *Monday*, which, according to Nofziger, "is a pretty good defense-offense mechanism."

**Defense**—The Aug. 9 issue of *Monday*, for example, carried a statement from the RNC chairman, Sen. Robert Dole, of Kansas, which defended Vice President Agnew's 32-day, 11-nation world tour as "an important one."

Dole wrote: "During that span, the Vice President provided crucial support for President Nixon's China initiative by reassuring long-

standing allies of continued support and friendship. . . . The Agnew mission dovetailed with Presidential aide Henry Kissinger's talks with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai, gave the President much-needed backup in Southeast Asia, and eased the impact of the President's dramatic announcement."

(Agnew, who was not privy to the decision making which led to the China announcement, was midway through his trip when the China disclosure was made.)

**Offense**—The Aug. 30 issue of *Monday* provided an example of the party taking the offense.

The publication said that a recent trip of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., to the Indian subcontinent was "a political zero, and a blow to American foreign policy . . ." and that it "reinforced his reputation for irresponsibility and immaturity."

The article also said that Kennedy had "harassed American officials for an invitation to Gen. Charles DeGaulle's funeral—and then proceeded to twist and frug the night away in a Paris night club with an exotic Italian princess—while France mourned."

**Enlarged edition**—The RNC has begun publishing a larger edition of *Monday* in the first week of each month—calling it *First Monday*. The bigger version of the magazine first appeared on Aug. 2.

The committee also changed its subscription policies. The weekly version of *Monday* will go to the 45,000 people who contributed \$25 or more to the RNC.

*First Monday* will go to all who contribute \$15 or more. Its circulation will be 250,000.

"We get a lot of small contributors," remarked Nofziger. "They are the backbone of the party. It shakes up the Democrats."

**Other RNC activities:** The RNC also conducts research (on issues, strengths and weaknesses of opposing candidates, voting patterns), maintains a small field force to keep in touch with state chairmen, conducts a school for campaign leaders, and helps areas with redistricting problems.

As the capstone of its fund-raising operation, the RNC on

Nov. 9—exactly 52 weeks before election day 1972—will stage "Salute to the President" dinners in more than 20 cities.

Jeremiah Milbank Jr., chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee, said the dinners could result in the largest fund-raising program in the party's history.

Milbank said the President will address all dinners through a closed circuit television hookup.

Tickets will be \$500 per person, and the proceeds will be divided equally between the RNC and the participating state Republican organizations.

**Democratic challengers:** Comments by RNC officials indicate that of all the potential Democratic Presidential challengers, they fear Sen. Kennedy most.

Said one top Republican Party aide:

"Kennedy scares me. I'm impressed with two assassinated brothers. Minority groups are with him. He's a charming, good-looking man with political charisma.

"I envision him going around the country saying, help me finish the job for my brothers. I grant you he has problems—Chappaquiddick and not being held in real high repute by his peers. But I think he could be as tough as hell."

Committee officials also expressed respect for Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., as an opponent.

"Jackson would be tough to beat," said the party official. "But a left-wing party would spring up and split the Democrats. They couldn't afford that."

Turning to New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, who recently left the Republican Party to become a Democrat, the GOP official said:

"He bothers me not at all. If he wants to be Vice President, fine. But, like they say, he's an idea whose time has come and gone.

"He comes on the wings of another year and a half of being unable to govern his city. He's not a hero. He's a whiner and complainer who couldn't get his way in his own party."

## Streamlining the Convention

The White House is studying a plan which would reduce the traditional four-day national political convention to three days when the Republicans meet late next August in San Diego to nominate a Presidential candidate.

Because of the virtual certainty that Mr. Nixon will be nominated, Administration officials are considering the possibility that a drawn-out convention might bore both the delegates and the millions of television viewers.

Last spring, White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman instructed William E. Timmons, assistant to the President, who is acting for the White House as campaign coordinator, and Jeb S. Magruder, operating director of the Committee for the Reelection of the President, to develop plans for White House participation at the convention.

Under a proposed format, the election of candidates would take place the second night instead of the third; acceptance speeches would come on the third night instead of the fourth. All earlier business would simply be pushed up.

The likely dates for the convention are Aug. 21, 22, 23, according to one White House aide, but the dates are not yet firm.

The aide said that it is better for the party with an incumbent President to hold its convention late in August, after the opposition party's convention, to conserve the President's time and allow him to swing right into the election campaign. It is not feasible to stage the convention later than August since some states require certification of candidates by September to get on the ballot.

Veneman, MacGregor, and Eugene S. Cowen, of the legislative liaison staff, met on Sept. 1 to discuss possible responses to the criticism.

Richardson had conferred privately with Mr. Nixon the day before at the Western White House.

### The campaign

In *The Making of the President—1968*, Theodore H. White referred to the Nixon campaign organization as "an almost perfect model . . . , at once spankably efficient in all substantive functions, yet simultaneously tailored to the personality of the candidate as well."

**Holdovers:** Three years later, almost all the top members of the 1968 Nixon operation remain in the Administration and available for service again.

They include Mitchell; Haldeman; Peter M. Flanigan, assistant to the President; Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President; Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch; Ronald L. Ziegler, Presidential press secretary; White House speechwriters Raymond K. Price, Patrick J. Buchanan and William L. Safire; Frank Shakespeare, director of the U.S. Information Agency; Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce; Richard G. Kleindienst, deputy attorney general; Robert H. Finch, counselor to the President.

In addition to being veteran campaigners who have worked together successfully, these men will be able to focus their attention on the election campaign without consuming their talents and energies battling rivals for the nomination.

(Chotiner brushes off the campaign efforts of Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr., of California, and former Sen. (1968-71) Charles E. Goodell, of New York, as "just a passing fancy by two people.")

**Changes—**One of the major changes in the Nixon campaign will involve Ehrlichman, who was the "tour manager" in 1968.

This time, Ehrlichman will deal with the issues and will act as liaison with Governors and municipal officials.

Neither Finch nor Donald Rumsfeld, another counselor to the President, has participated in early campaign planning.

Finch was a personal emissary for President Nixon in 1968 with undefined duties.

**Waiting in the wings—**After leaving the White House, Chotiner joined the Washington law firm of Reeves and Harrison as an attorney "of counsel," which means that he can accept clients of his own.

Chotiner, who has participated in almost every Nixon campaign since

Of overriding interest to the voters, MacGregor said, are: "How are things for me at home, and is my boy going to get shot up overseas?"

Number three on the list was Mr. Nixon's performance as President: whether he has demonstrated a capacity for leadership.

As an incumbent President, Mr. Nixon must run on his record. In large measure, this entails his record as a sponsor of legislation.

**The record—**Mr. Nixon has made little headway with legislation involving his "six great goals": welfare reform, government reorganization, revenue sharing, environmental control, health care and economic stimulation.

White House officials, nonetheless, say that his record will not work against him at the polls.

"He has presented an exciting program, and if he demonstrates a continuing commitment to it and shows a conciliatory attitude toward Congress in recasting and remodeling it, Congress doesn't have a leg to stand on," MacGregor said.

"Governmentally, the President has done what a President is supposed to do; if Congress doesn't do governmentally what it should, it could be beneficial to the President. . . . People understand the President can't wave a magic wand and get Congress to dance to his tune."

Members of Congress might be more receptive to the President's program during late 1971 and early 1972, because it is good politics to present their constituents with an impressive legislative record, he said.

"It is better for a legislator to be positive, to be for something, rather than against it."

**New efforts—**A new White House program calls for the President to give more time and attention to Members of Congress, individually, by committee and in groups.

If the scenario is followed, Mr. Nixon personally will request serious consideration of his legislative proposals and offer to compromise in order to obtain floor votes on his proposals.

Meanwhile, studies are under way in the Administration to come up with means of offsetting criticism from Members of Congress about the deferment of revenue sharing and welfare reform.

HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson, HEW Under Secretary John G.

the President first ran for the House of Representatives in 1946, acted as "shadow adviser" and special assistant to Mitchell in 1968.

He said that the RNC and the reelection committee sometimes seek his counsel, but that he has not yet been invited to take a formal role in the 1972 campaign.

"But I see no reason why I shouldn't," he said.

Chotiner then pointed to a framed "Dear Murray" letter Mr. Nixon sent him upon his resignation from the White House.

"It is good to know that, although you will be leaving the staff, you will still be here in Washington, and that I can continue to call on you for assistance," Mr. Nixon wrote. "You can be sure that I will."

"I'm ready whenever he calls," Chotiner said.

Chotiner's office, the reelection committee's office and the Washington office of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander (the New York law firm of Mr. Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell before 1968) are in the same building, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., a block from the White House. (All the parties say this is coincidence.)

**Running mate:** Administration officials say that the selection of Mr. Nixon's running mate in 1972 is still uncertain and likely will provide the most excitement at the GOP national convention.

Talk of Treasury Secretary John B. Connally for the No. 2 spot persists, but there is no evidence that it is founded on anything more than speculation.

**Left out**—The reports have been strengthened, however, by the fact that Vice President Agnew did not participate in the decision making which led to the China and new economic policy announcements. And Agnew himself has acknowledged that Mr. Nixon may drop him.

In Miami on Aug. 25, he said, "I want the President to be reelected, and I want anybody to run with him who can give him the most help. Six months from now that might be someone else."

RNC Chairman Dole has predicted



Staff members of the Committee for the Reelection of the President:  
(from left) Jeb S. Magruder, Robert C. Odle Jr. and Herbert L. Porter

that Mr. Nixon will keep Agnew. Chotiner has taken a similar view.

He bases the conclusion on several factors: If Agnew is refused the vice presidential renomination, many Republican conservatives will sit out the election; it would look like an admission by the President that he had made a mistake in 1968; most Republicans who oppose Agnew would vote for the party ticket anyway; his rhetoric appeals to some elements which normally favor the opposition party.

Significance might be read in the fact that the Committee for the Reelection of the President does not include the Vice President in its title or promotional endeavors. Asked why, a reelection committee spokesman said diplomatically, "Our interest right at this point is the reelection of the President. We all deeply respect and admire the Vice President and will, of course, follow the wishes of the President and the Vice President as to who the vice presidential nominee in 1972 will be."

**New man**—The vice presidential question apart, most White House aides hail Connally's appointment to the Cabinet. Connally, former Democratic Governor of Texas (1962-68), has improved his standing within the Administration with his performance during the planning and promotion of the new economic policy.

Connally's political value results in part from his popularity in Texas, which has 26 electoral votes.

Mr. Nixon narrowly lost the state in 1968 to Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic candidate, probably because of the presence in the race of George C. Wallace, of Alabama, the American Independent Party candidate.

#### Outlook

Nixon Administration officials are confident the President's recent actions can generate a political dividend.

A Gallup public opinion survey—the first since the Aug. 15 economic announcement—showed Mr. Nixon clearly leading three front-running Democratic rivals, Sens. Edward M. Kennedy, of Massachusetts, Humphrey, of Minnesota, and Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine. In the last previous poll in June, the four were closely bunched.

Nevertheless, White House aides are mindful that Mr. Nixon, a minority President, is vulnerable and that his dramatic initiatives could backfire politically if they prove unsuccessful.

Precisely because they are conscious of the vulnerability of their candidate, the Nixon forces are starting early, and, from all indications, they are running hard.

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M: **ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.**  
**ATTORNEY GENERAL**

O: **MR HIGBY FOR MR. HALDEMAN**

RELEASED BY *[Signature]*

TOR:

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CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Situation Room:

Please dex this immediately to San  
Clemente and telephone me at 333-4567  
to advise when it has been sent.

Thank you.

Robert C. Odle, Jr.

+++++

San Clemente:

On receipt of the attached, please xerox a  
copy and deliver the xerox copy to Mr. Higby  
for Mr. Haldeman. The original should be  
delivered to the Attorney General at the  
Newporter Inn.

Thank you.

Robert C. Odle, Jr.

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CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
12021 322-0920

August 27, 1971

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached are Dom Bonafede's questions, and our answers, for the campaign article which Bonafede is doing for the National Journal. Bonafede has told Rob Odle that he has interviewed officials such as John Ehrlichman at the White House about the campaign effort, and that the story will also focus on the RNC's role in the campaign.

JSM 8/27

Dent

Ante

JEB S. MAGRUDER

cc: Mr. Francis L. Dale  
Mr. H. R. Haldeman

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By BJ NARS, Date 10-28-82

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E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By BJ NARS, Date 10-28-82

1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, Telephone (202) 833-8000

National Journal

Aug. 18, 1971

Dear Sir,

Persuant to your suggestion, as relayed to me by Bob Odle, I am enclosing a list of questions regarding the activities of your committee.

Should you prefer to reply orally instead of in writing, it would be fine with me. Indeed, I believe it would be better for both of us since some answers invariably require explanation and clarification.

Furthermore, there may be instances where you want to go on background or off the record. I assure you I can be trusted in these matters, as can be attested to by the several White House officials whom I've interviewed.

Nonetheless, I will abide by whatever ground rules you choose. Whatever the procedure, I hope I will receive your replies sometime next week since I am under a deadline.

Also, as I mentioned to Bob, I would appreciate it if I could tour your headquarters and have a photographer take a picture or two of you and your staff.

Thank you kindly for your cooperation.

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Cordially,  
*D. A. L.*



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By Bj NARS, Date 10-28-82

To: Bob S. Magruder and Francis L. Dale

From: Dom Bonafede, National Journal White House correspondent

1. How and when did the committee originate; in essence, what was its genesis?
2. Why was it established?
3. What is its organizational structure, including names of chairmen, committee members and headquarters staff officials and their assigned areas of interest?
4. What is the total number of staff members, including clerical workers, volunteers, etc.
5. Literally speaking, are "citizens" actually recruited and made a part of the committee?
6. How many former White House aides are now with the committee?
7. Have all resigned formally from the White House staff?
8. Who invited them to move over to the committee?
9. Does the committee have offices or branches outside of Washington?
10. How is the committee funded, i.e., who pays the rent, operational expenses and salaries of working staff?
11. How do the functions of the committee differ from those of the Republican National Committee?
12. What is the committee's tie-in with the Republican National Committee? With the White House?
13. How is liaison maintained with the above groups.
14. What is the committee's operational apparatus? For example, does it work through task forces. If so, what are the categories and who is in charge of each?
15. Is the committee involved in fund-raising? If so, how is this function performed and how much money has been raised so far?
16. Does the committee solicit the support of outside private groups? If so, what groups have indicated their support? In this connection, does the committee work with Charles Colson, of the White House staff?
17. Does the committee coordinate with state and local Republican officials? If so, how and for what purpose?

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By EJ NARS, Date 11-28-87

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- 18. Does the committee engage in poll-taking (by itself or under contract)? If so, what were the results?
19. Does the committee engage the resources of outside consultants, particularly those who specialize in politics and the media?
20. Does the committee attempt to get its message across to the media?
21. Thus far, it appears the committee has purposely operated under a cloak of secrecy - why?
22. How does the committee try to attract the so-called voting blocs - blacks, labor, business, etc.?
23. In this connection, I understand the committee is establishing regional "Youth for Nixon" groups under the direction of Republican Congressmen and other GOP officials. Would you elaborate?
24. How large is the committee's mailing list?
25. Does the committee focus special attention on so-called key states or regions? If so, please identify them.
- 26. Does the committee seek information or counsel from Administration officials, such as Robert Finch, Harry Dent, Donald Rumsfeld and John N. Mitchell?
- 27. Has it had the encouragement of President Nixon? Has the President communicated in any way with the committee?
28. What, in the opinion of committee officials, will be the principal campaign issues?
29. What do you stress in your promotional activities for the reelection of President Nixon? His legislative record? policies? leadership? direction?
- 30. Is Vice President Agnew included in your promotional efforts?
31. What is the committee's operating budget?
32. Eventually, will the committee become the party's national campaign committee?
- 33. The Aug. 9 issue of Advertising Age reports that the White House is setting up an advertising "house agency" in connection with the Nixon reelection campaign. The report listed several officials who allegedly will be part of the setup, including Mr. Magruder. Is this report correct and would you please elaborate?

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- 1 and 2. The committee was established in May of 1971 by a group of citizens from throughout the country who felt the time had come to begin to plan for the President's re-election campaign. The chairman of the committee is Francis L. Dale, Editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer. Other committee members are Mrs. Rita Hauser, a delegate to the United Nations; Max Fisher, Detroit business leader; Thomas W. Pappas, Boston businessman; Donald A. Schollander, a former Olympic swimming champion and presently a college administrator; Robert H. Volk, Los Angeles, President and Director of Unionamerica, Inc.; Erik Jonsson, former mayor of Dallas and a prominent business leader; and Frank Borman, former astronaut and presently an executive for Eastern Airlines.
3. At the headquarters in Washington, Jeb S. Magruder directs the planning and day-to-day activities of the committee; while Harry S. Flemming handles the political work. There are not titles assigned at the present time.
4. At the present time there are 19 staff members. This figure includes 9 secretaries and 1 college student who is helping out for the summer.
5. The committee has recruited, through a mailing piece, charter members of Citizens for the Re-Election of the President.
6. Five former White House aides are now with the committee: Harry S. Flemming and Jeb S. Magruder, both of whom were Special Assistants to the President; and Robert C. Odle, Jr., Herbert L. Porter, and Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., all of whom were Staff Assistants to the President.

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7. All have formally resigned from the White House staff and severed all connections with the government.

8. The initial staff members were asked by Mr. Dale to join the committee staff. Others were asked by Mr. Magruder and Mr. Flemming.

9. No.

10. The committee is self-sustaining. It raises enough money to pay its own rent, operational expenses, and salaries.

11. The job of the Republican National Committee basically is to maintain and build Republican organizations throughout the country and elect Republican Governors, Senators, and Congressmen in 1972, as well as to play a major role in re-electing the President. Our interest is exclusively the Presidential campaign and the plans which have to be made at this stage for it.

12 and 13. This committee does, however, work very closely with the Republican National Committee, since both the Republican National Committee and the Citizens Committee share a common goal of electing a Republican President in 1972. Obviously we also work with White House personnel from time to time, but one of the reasons the committee was set up was so that campaign activities would be outside the White House and the government.

14. There are various "planning studies" which focus upon each aspect of a national campaign. Theoretically, every facet of a national Presidential campaign would be covered by one of the various planning studies.

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15. The committee is involved in fund raising to the extent that it is self-sustaining. Requests for funds are made directly, and also by mail.
16. The committee is not yet soliciting the support of outside private groups because it is still in the early planning stages of the campaign. Later on, one could expect that the committee would earnestly enlist the support of outside groups.
17. The committee of course does work closely with state and local Republican committees and officials in order to insure the re-election of the President. For example, three members of the committee staff attended the meetings of the Republican National Committee last month in Denver and talked with most of the state chairmen and national committeemen and women who were present.
18. The committee has not engaged in any poll taking thus far, but it has been interested in looking at polls others have taken.
19. The committee has not engaged the resources of outside consultants but has received proposals and bids which have been made by various national political consultants.
20. Again, since the committee is in the early planning stages of the campaign, it has not attempted to get a message across to the media. Its function is not yet to campaign for the President's re-election, but to study the manner in which that campaign should be waged.

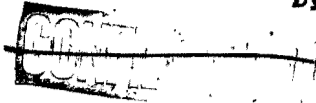
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By BJ NARS, Date 11-26-82

21. The campaign committee has never operated under a cloak of secrecy: it is listed in telephone information, its name is on the door, and it is listed on the directory of the building in which it is housed. It simply is not at the stage where it is actively seeking publicity.
22. As any campaign committee would, Citizens is attempting to study ways in which to garner the most votes possible, among, for example, "the so-called voting blocks," as well as the citizenry in general.
23. There is a person on the staff, Kenneth Rietz, who is exclusively in charge of youth affairs for the committee. One of the proposals which has been made to him is to establish "Youth for Nixon" groups under the direction of Republican Congressmen and other GOP officials, but this proposal has not yet been adopted and is also still at the stage where it is being closely examined and studied for possible future implementation.
24. The committee does not have a mailing list. However, it does have files containing letters from several thousand people who have written since May encouraging the President to run for re-election and telling of their interest in working for his re-election.
25. Obviously the committee is interested in putting together state organizations in those states which choose their delegates to the national convention first, and also in the states with large numbers of electoral votes.
26. On occasion, the committee will seek advice from Messrs. Dent, Finch Mitchell and Rumsfeld, as well as others who were active in the 1968 campaign. And of course we are always interested in having the benefit of the thinking of men such as these.

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27. Mr. Dale, through White House officials, informed the President of the formation of the committee at the time it was put together, but neither he nor any member of the committee staff has communicated with the President in any way concerning it, nor has the President communicated with any of the staff members.

28 and 29. Again, we are in the stage where the methods of campaign organization and structure are being examined; it is too early to determine what the principal issues will be.

30. Our interest right at this point is the re-election of the President. We all deeply respect and admire the Vice President and will, of course, follow the wishes of the President and the Vice President as to who the Vice Presidential nominee in 1972 should be.

31. Like any national campaign committee, our monthly expenditures run several thousand dollars. But since each month is radically different from the previous month, it is difficult to estimate what the average monthly expenditures are over any given period of time.

32. We are hopeful that our performance will be such so that if the President does announce for re-election as we are hopeful he will, he will ask us to assist in the campaign.

33. One of the three or four ways to run the advertising function in a national presidential campaign is to set up an "in house" agency within the campaign organization. This is one of the options we are studying. But no decision has been made and no people have been hired to head up a "house agency."

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Political



(WITH CHART)

THE PHILLIPS SURVEY

BY KEVIN P. PHILLIPS

THE 1972 SENATE ELECTIONS

If you would like to know which states are going to have the vital U.S. Senate contests of 1972, much of the information is already available.

United States Senators are powerful politicians well positioned to make a lot of friends and do a lot for their states. Once elected, they are difficult to displace. Thus, few U.S. Senators go down to defeat in November without warning. Almost invariably, new Senators win election only under the following circumstances:

- 1) The incumbent has retired;
- 2) The incumbent is so old that people believe he should have retired;
- 3) The incumbent is only an appointee to fill an unexpired term, not a man or woman who has actually been elected;
- 4) The incumbent has been badly weakened or defeated in a divisive party primary;
- 5) A major third party has distorted previous voting patterns.

Since 1966, in three elections for the U.S. Senate, very few U.S. Senate seats have changed hands except where one of the above criteria existed. The exception is Oklahoma's Mike Monroney, who lost in 1968 principally because he was too liberal for his state.

Obviously, these criteria can only be a general guide. They do not pinpoint the men who will lose. They simply delineate the ranks from which most of the losers will come. Therefore, it is the following seats that are most likely to have new occupants in January, 1973:

1. Seats Being Vacated: As of September, 1971, the list of expected retirees is as follows: Margaret Chase Smith (Republican of Maine); Karl Mundt (Republican of South Dakota); John Sherman Cooper (Republican of Kentucky); Len Jordan (Republican of Idaho); Clinton Anderson (Democrat of New Mexico); Fred Harris (Democrat of Oklahoma), and possibly B. Everett Jordan (Democrat of North Carolina).

All of these seats could conceivably change party hands, but the shift is more likely in some than in others.

The seat of Maine's Senator Margaret Chase Smith could very well flip to the Democrats. Such a switch would be especially likely if Maine's Senator Edmund Muskie is the party's Presidential nominee. In 1970, his coattails helped a weak Democratic gubernatorial candidate to beat a popular Republican opponent.

(MORE)



Senator Mundt's South Dakota seat is also a potential Democratic gain. In 1970, the Democrats won the governorship, the Senate race, and the state's two Congressional contests. Party strength appears to be growing.

Kentucky Governor Louie Nunn may hold Senator Cooper's seat for the Republicans. If Kentucky elects a GOP governor in November to succeed Nunn, Cooper may resign so that Nunn can be appointed to the Senate and campaign as an incumbent.

Idaho's Senator Jordan has just announced his retirement, and the state GOP picture is unclear. The Republicans are generally expected to hold the seat.

With Senator Anderson retiring, the New Mexico Senate seat could go either way. In 1968, when President Nixon won a surprisingly large New Mexico plurality, he helped elect two new Republican Congressmen. The Presidential race could make the difference again in 1972.

Until unpopular, liberal Senator Fred Harris announced his retirement, Oklahoma was expected to replace him with a Republican in 1972. But now the likely Democratic nominee, middle-roading Congressman Ed Edmondson, has a chance to hold the seat for his party.

If North Carolina's Senator Jordan retires, the probable Democratic nominee will be Governor Robert Scott. The Republicans would have a chance of defeating Scott and a better chance of defeating the aging Jordan. In any event, the race will be considerably affected by the respective strength of President Nixon, the Democratic nominee, and George Wallace.

2. Aged incumbents: Most of the older Senators likely to stand for re-election are Democrats from Southern and Border states. Besides Senator Jordan of North Carolina (who will be 76 next November), they include Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana (aged 82 next year), Senator John Sparkman of Alabama (72), Senator John McClellan of Arkansas (76), and Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia (70).

Senator Ellender is expected to run again, and should be an overwhelming favorite.

Senator McClellan, a conservative, faces the prospect of a primary fight with a younger, more moderate Democrat -- Congressman David Pryor or perhaps even Governor Dale Bumpers. If McClellan survives the primary, he should win re-election handily. Even the primary scars of his defeat would be unlikely to create a Republican opening.

In Alabama, Senator John Sparkman is favored to defeat his probable GOP opponent, Postmaster General Winton Blount.

West Virginia's Senator Randolph, Chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, occupies a position of no small importance to pork-barrel hungry West Virginia. However, he may confront a serious challenge from Republican Governor Arch O. Moore.

(MORE)

Dropping down to run who will be between the ages of 65 and 70 in November, 1972, are a Democrat -- Senator James Eastland of Mississippi (67) -- and a trio of Republicans: Senator Carl Curtis of Nebraska (67), Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina (69), and Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey (68). Eastland is not expected to have trouble at the polls, and neither is New Jersey's Case. However, Thurmond is expected to face a tough fight, and Curtis, although favored, could have a rough race in farm-troubled Nebraska.

3. Senators Who Have Been Appointed Rather Than Elected: Democratic Senator David Gambrell of Georgia is the only present member of this group. A moderate appointed in January by Governor Jimmy Carter to replace deceased Senator Richard Russell, Gambrell can expect conservative primary opposition, conceivably from the colorful Lieutenant-Governor (for Governor) Lester Maddox. Either Gambrell or another primary victor will probably face a determined Republican challenge in November.

4. Incumbents Who Bear Bad Primary Scars or Candidates Who Have Defeated Incumbents in Divisive Primaries: Besides the Arkansas and Georgia situations already mentioned, some rough primaries may be shaping up elsewhere.

First on the list is Oregon, where liberal Republican Senator Mark Hatfield lags badly in the polls and is likely to retire or be replaced -- after a primary -- by GOP Governor Tom McCall. As for general election prospects, Hatfield is rated a likely loser, while McCall, as the Republican nominee, would be a solid favorite.

Another potential primary state is Kansas, where GOP Senator James Pearson, an unpredictable moderate, may draw conservative opposition. Such a contest could help pave the way for a Democratic upset.

In Virginia, moderate Democratic Senator William Spong is likely to face primary opposition, perhaps from both ends -- conservative and liberal -- of the political spectrum. Here the Republicans may have a chance to profit from the ideological split in the Virginia Democratic Party.

Rhode Island's routinely liberal Democratic Senator Clairborne Pell is given only a so-so chance of re-election, and may draw opposition from another Democrat who feels better able to take advantage of the state's heavy Democratic bias. Whatever happens, there is a good chance that the next Senator from Rhode Island will be Republican Navy Secretary John Chafee.

5. Prospects of Third Party Interference: Conservative third parties are becoming a new force in U.S. Senate elections, mostly in protest against local situations where the two major parties espouse similar liberal outlooks.

In 1970, such a third party actually elected James Buckley to the Senate from New York. However, the conservative third parties that will be on the ballot this year are not well enough positioned to be able to elect anyone. Still, they may play an important role in determining major party winners.

Liberal Republican Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts faces local Conservative Party opposition, but it is not expected to endanger his re-election. Michigan GOP Senator Robert Griffin confronts a greater menace. Although Griffin is a moderate, he may be opposed -- and done in -- by a candidate of a new Conservative Party which aims at forcing the liberal-run Michigan GOP to heed conservative sentiment.

Other third party situations could develop in the South, but none of any great significance are presently on the horizon.

\*\*\*

If the patterns of the recent past continue to hold, these criteria pinpoint nearly all of the states which may elect new U.S. Senators next year. The list does not include some men like Senators Lee Metcalf of Montana, John Tower of Texas, Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire and Jack Miller of Iowa, who are generally expected to face tough races. Unless new circumstances develop, the 1966-1970 record suggests that incumbency should re-elect most of these legislators.

In partisan terms, the criteria listed above hint that the Democrats should gain a few Senate seats in 1972. The "dark horse" GOP opportunity is in the South and Border areas. Ten of the eleven Confederate states have Senate seats up this year, as do West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. Whereas several years ago, the Republicans could have anticipated major Dixie gains, their opportunity has now been lessened by President Nixon's erratic stand on busing and related issues. If the GOP does not pick up several Southern seats in 1972, Northern gains should register a slight increase in the existing Democratic Senate majority.

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(JPN)

**BRAUN & COMPANY**

DATE September 2, 1971

TO Mr. H. R. Haldeman

Thought you might be

interested in the attached.

FROM Clifford A. Miller

File  
Political

August 31, 1971

Playboy Magazine  
Playboy Building  
919 North Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Gentlemen:

George McGovern is a dangerous man. Not because of his beliefs or because I disagree with his beliefs, but because his distorted and inconsistent views of the world have been soft-sold into considerable currency. Any reasonably objective analysis of his positions will bear me out.

1. The White House Staff. The Senator insults our intelligence by promising to enlist "devils' advocates" on his staff. The Executive, if nothing else, is charged with the orderly and efficient administration of the nation's government. A prerequisite of sound administration is a reliable staff to further the President's program. There is challenge and debate aplenty from Congress and the press to maintain intellectual vitality.
2. Vietnam. The Senator engages in syllogisms in contending that "our meddling in Indochina has hastened the fall of the dominoes" without confronting the real issue: What are our legitimate security interests in Southeast Asia? How can we best promote those interests? If SEATO members are subjected to aggression, at what point do we intercede - or do we abrogate the treaty? McGovern (and he is not alone here) has ducked these hard questions altogether. We have made egregious mistakes in Vietnam, but one of them may not have been our intervention - merely the inefficacy of that intervention. I, too, am disenchanted with the war and advocate its termination, but for quite different reasons than those advanced by the Senator.
3. Middle East. Why is the Middle East "more important" than Vietnam "in terms of both our security and our traditions"? Again, the security parameters are undefined; but being absolutely cold about it, these interests are spelled "O I L". I'm certain that this notion is repugnant to the Senator in light of his avowed populism. To defend our alliance with Israel, however, on the grounds of that nation's "democratic traditions" is absurd - especially as McGovern claims to be such a political relativist in the case of Chile. His disclaimer of concern for Chile's

choice of government is completely contradicted by his position in regard to the Middle East. Why can't he be honest enough to admit that his favoritism of Israel is motivated by his desire to curry the support of the American Jewish community?

4. Other Ivory Towers. A list of the Senator's other unrealistic positions must suffice here:

\* Russia was still advocating global domination the last I heard (two weeks ago). Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the Soviet government has become somewhat more cognizant of interests which compete with its more traditional and conservative policies, such as rapprochement with the German Federal Republic.

Taiwan and the People's Republic of China can no more solve their differences peacefully now than the Senator could fly to Mars. To leave that problem unaddressed is pure ignorance, especially if McGovern would recognize Peking as the sole Chinese government.

Populism as embraced by Senator McGovern ignores the fact that America was built by and relies for her continued strength on the very homogeneity of her people - capitalists, workers, urban and rural interests alike. I don't think that we can afford the rank provincialism and political pandering represented by the likes of George McGovern.

Yours sincerely,

John R. Liebman

March 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT: Lee Nunn

I have just been advised that Lee Nunn is resigning as Director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Lee is considered by many to be a cold fish, as you doubtless know. He is a plodder and probably doesn't impress too many people with his outward appearance. The fact is, however, that Lee has ~~been~~ where the money is. He is a tiger who digs in tenaciously -- methodically going through the thousands of names each year, and he has been ~~enormously~~ effective in raising money in ~~good times and bad~~.

I understand Lee has no idea what he is going to do. He probably should be brought under our wing because the information that he possesses in his head could be enormously valuable. He could be a key figure in our campaign finance operation. It would be better for us to get our hands on him than to have him go either to the RNC or to a group of Senators -- the latter is apparently his present thinking.

Nunn is resigning, by the way, because he feels that Dominick is a very weak campaign committee chairman, or at least so he says. Obviously there is some problem between Dominick and Nunn.

HRH:BK:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES W. COLSON  
SUBJECT: Lee Nunn *W*

I have just been advised that Lee Nunn is resigning as Director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Lee is a cold fish, as you doubtless know. He is a plodder and probably doesn't impress too many people with his outward appearance. The fact is, however, that Lee knows where the money is like probably only very few other people do. He is a tiger who digs in tenaciously - methodically going through the thousands of names each year, and he has been enormously effective in raising money in good times and bad.

Lee has no idea what he is going to do - he somehow should be brought under our wing because the information that he possesses in his head could be enormously valuable, as I believe he could. I would think he could be a key figure in our campaign finance operation. I would rather have us get our hands on him than have him go either to the RNC or to a group of Senators - the latter is his present thinking.

Nunn is resigning, by the way, because he feels that Dominick is a very weak campaign committee chairman, or at least so he says. Obviously there is some problem between Dominick and Nunn.



March 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

Attached is some additional information on the Indiana situation,  
and as you can see Fred Malek is following up on this.

Attachment

HRH:BK:kb:HRH:BK:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

March 1, 1971

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By BG NARS, Date 10-28-82

CONFIDENTIAL

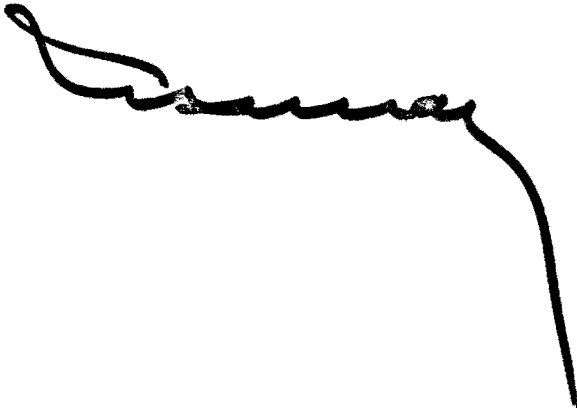
MEMORANDUM FOR

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Attached is letter from John Snyder to the President,  
which is self-explanatory.

Fred Malek is current with me concerning this.



cc: Fred Malek

CONFIDENTIAL

# Indiana Republican



## State Central Committee

111 NORTH CAPITOL AVENUE • INDIANAPOLIS, IND. 46204 • PHONE (317) 635-7561

February 24, 1971

*Chairman*  
John K. Snyder  
*Vice-Chairman*  
Mrs. Esther B. Guthridge  
*Secretary*  
John R. Price  
*Treasurer*  
Maurice J. Ferriter

CONFIDENTIAL

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

I do not know how aware you are of the present problems in Indiana, but I feel it essential that you be apprised immediately.

Governor Whitcomb and his close political advisors are currently formulating plans to advance the candidacy of Ronald Reagan for President in 1972. His plans in this regard are being made by a group who have direct links with Governor Reagan. The group includes the 1968 Indiana State Chairman for Reagan, Reagan's 1968 Mid-West Chairman (who carried one of five mobile radio units on the convention floor in Miami Beach), the 1964 Goldwater State Chairman, and Whitcomb's closest political advisor who has actively sought this chair and frequently espoused Reagan's cause.

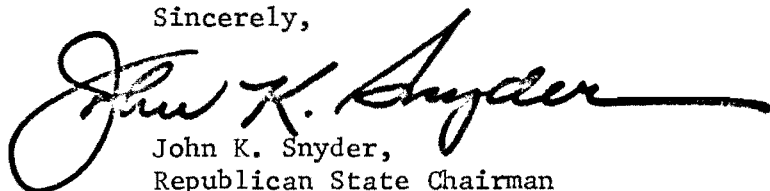
If the situation continues as is, this group will shortly begin to argue with your programs, predict your defeat and eventually espouse Reagan's cause.

Governor Whitcomb's continued presence as Governor makes our 1971 and 1972 prospects bleak indeed.

Therefore, the federal job position plan for Whitcomb which we have pursued through Murray Chotiner, assumes new urgency, in order to stop the Reagan group and also provide us with a new shot at winning the state and providing you with our normal plurality in 1972.

I certainly hate to portray doom, however, as you know I have always given you the political conditions as they are, in fact. As we stand today, Indiana could certainly be in serious trouble in 71 as well as 72.

Sincerely,

  
John K. Snyder,  
Republican State Chairman

JKS:kw

Political  
FILE  
✓

BY B9 10-28-82

February 5, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: Harry S. Dent *HSD*

I have had the opportunity to talk with several people recently about the Wallace situation. In fact, Wallace talked to me at the Mendel Rivers funeral but only in a joking manner. He did make the point that he did not and would not see a national Democrat in the White House.

Jim Martin and some other key Alabama people believe that Wallace will definitely run and that he will concentrate his campaign in the Southern States with occasional forays outside of the South for the purpose of showing Southerners that he is "telling it like it is" to the rest of the country. Wallace has confided to some people that the economic situation will determine whether he will run and that an overt campaign on the race question will not be used.

It has been my theory in recent months that it would be in the best interest of Wallace if he would moderate some and be Governor for eight years and then move on to the United States Senate. There are signs that he may be considering this course. He recently offered a black man a position as an Assistant Attorney General. However, the man was not able to accept the offer. In addition to this, Wallace did make a few moderate remarks in his inaugural address.

Speaker Sage Lyon of the Alabama House, Wallace's 1970 campaign manager, has approached a former college classmate on how Wallace can get a good working relationship with the Nixon Administration. The man contacted is Gordon Gooch, General Counsel at the FPC. Gooch worked with Kleindienst and you at

the Pierre Hotel and in screening Justice Department employees. You offered him a job but his law firm wanted him back in Houston, Texas.

Gooch says that Lyon is good, honest, and sincere.

I know Wallace has also sent emissaries to see Harold Martin, editor of The Montgomery Advertiser, for the purpose of trying to patch up their differences. Martin has written some scathing and well-documented editorials against Wallace. He has more in mind.

My recommendation is that some effort be made to establish liaison and that we try to determine what we can do to influence the ultimate decision he will make.

If he runs only on the economic question, and this does not look too good for us, it is possible he could absorb votes that might be going to the Democrat nominee. So, it is possible that a Wallace candidacy in the South could prove beneficial to us rather than to the Democrats. I have been a little surprised to find in South Carolina polls that in a two-way race the President is not doing much better than Muskie. He rated 46% - 40%. With a Southerner on the Democratic ticket it was even. This is a good state to poll because it is in between the upper and lower South.

If we can work up a plan to get a larger share of the black vote than might be expected, this could give us some additional running room for 1972. This can be done.

cc: Bob Haldeman

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E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By B-9 NARS, Date 10-28-82